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UNTREASON IN A NON-WAR

"The Coffee Plot"

(Part I)

By James T. Irwin

With the American military presence in Vietnam (the current *leitmotif* of the incessant leftist assault on America's institutions) it was inevitable that the nation's armed forces should become a prime target of the "peace" activists (both domestic and foreign).

In this onslaught, the left has employed every technique available in its arsenal, including new variations on standard methodology. Even some new ones have been invented as conditions warrant. One of the more original mediums utilized to subvert our military is the GI coffee house, a relatively recent phenomenon, where GIs can be radicalized through a multi-media approach, consisting of the latest sex-pol films, newspapers, and periodicals along with a steady stream of folk singers and speakers. The coffee houses are run by "movement activists" who attempt to "radicalize" their clientele through that old standard in the leftist repertoire, the "dialogue."

In the October 1968 issue of *The Movement*, a publication "affiliated with SNCC and SDS," one of the persons who helped set up the first GI coffee house, Dona Mickleson wrote:

A year ago, when I was first invited to join Fred Gardner in opening the UFO in Columbia, South Carolina, practically everyone—in and out of the movement—looked at us like we were crazy. This was 1967, not 1964, and people just weren't thinking about moving into godforsaken Southern towns at all—let alone in relation to soldiers.

Fred Gardner, is the person credited with conceiving the GI coffee house plan. Gardner was an editor of the leftist magazine *Ramparts*. During the 1968 Democratic national convention in Chicago—August 26-29, Gardner was an editor of *The Ramparts Wall Poster*, which was published daily to keep the "movement activists" informed of where the action was at (sic.). Gardner was a witness for the defense at the conspiracy trial of the "Chicago 7," five of whom received five years and five thousand dollar fines for their part in fomenting and abetting the Chicago disorders.

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In the August 1968 issue of *Esquire*, an article by Robert Christgau details the development of the first GI coffee house:

Gardner graduated from Harvard in 1963 and got a lucrative editing job at *Scientific American*. Then he went into the Army, back to *Scientific American* and into the Reserves. Then he dropped out, acceding to that irresistible leftward pull that has affected so many young Americans in the Vietnam years. . . .

Gardner opposed the war, then, but he did not believe that every acquiescent inductee was a genocidal murderer. On the contrary, he believed the Army probably contained enough dissidents to undo itself. Not in this war, probably, for Gardner is not a true believer in the revolutionary juggernaut. But the potential was there—get them in basic training, at the low point of all that indignity, and you might excite a certain percentage to fight back. The problem was reaching them. One function of the uniform—and, very pertinently here, of military hair length—is to foster the illusion, especially among soldiers themselves, that all soldiers are alike. Gardner wanted to give them a chance to start feeling like individuals again. There are natural malcontents at every Army base in the country, even ex-Leftists and ex-hippies. Just help them to find each other and you perform a service.

Crucial to this service, Gardner reasoned, would be a place to go, completely apolitical, but geared to attract a special kind of soldier, one bored with the run of recreation in a base town and lonely for comrades. Staff the place with friendly people, especially girls, provide hip music and a bohemian atmosphere, and you'd be certain to attract all of the most easily organized soldiers and lots of curious stragglers as well. Just a place to meet, talk, gripe—and if something more develops, well, let it. Eventually the men could set up a network to serve whatever action seemed appropriate. The plan, completely legal, might even pay for itself.

Gardner's inspiration came around the time Andy Stapp was facing his first court-martial. He talked it up to friends in the movement and sympathizers who might contribute their special resources, but they were involved in their own projects and had their doubts about involving the movement in such a commercial venture. Anyway, they weren't quite ready to tackle the Army. But they did offer plenty of advice and some concrete help—including money. So Gardner chose a small staff and together they proceeded to develop the program. Between September, 1967, and April, 1968, three coffee houses were started, and they were so successful financially that one activist in Chicago, an Air Force veteran charged that Gardner was exploiting the soldiers instead of politicizing them. But the coffee houses were there: at Fort Hood, Texas; Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri; and the first, in Columbia, South Carolina, near Fort Jackson.

Columbia is too big and too, yes, sophisticated, to qualify as a typical Army town—it is the capital of South Carolina—but it comes close enough. Along a six block strip on Main Street can be found a disproportionate number of bars, greasy spoons, and other such diversions, and of course there is a U.S.O. There are also several colleges, but college students and soldiers traditionally do not mix. (This has changed since Gardner came to town.)

Thus, the first GI coffee house, the UFO, came into existence in January 1968 in Columbia, South Carolina.

Concerning the UFO, *Newsweek* magazine of August 26, 1968 states:

The place has many of the trappings of an ordinary USO club. Squeezed between a Norge appliance shop and a short-order joint on Main Street in Columbia, S.C., its uncurtained windows afford passersby an uncluttered view of the four dozen tables, the counter supporting a large coffee urn, the jukebox, the pop posters and the stuffed magazine rack. But upon closer examination, the tidy little shop takes on another aspect.

For almost everything else in the establishment is designed to introduce soldiers stationed at nearby Fort Jackson not to an evening of dominoes and checkers but to the most vociferous sentiments of the antiwar movement. For one thing, the juke yields an abundance of pacifist folk songs while the posters feature such memorable anti-Vietnam spokesmen as author James Baldwin, songstress Joan Baez and black militant Stokeley Carmichael. One placard is a mock travel ad that reads: "This Vacation Visit Beautiful Vietnam—Fly Far Far Eastern Airways. . . ."

Last January, Gardner set up Columbia's UFO club—his pilot program—in the wake of the court martial at Fort Jackson in June 1967 of medical corps Capt. Howard Levy, who refused to teach medical trainees because of his personal opposition to the war in Vietnam. Levy was found guilty and sentenced to three years in prison. "Levy had already turned the base on," says Gardner, "and I knew it shouldn't end with him." Already Gardner claims the UFO is a financial success.

In his August 1968 *Esquire* article, Robert Christgau states that Gardner's pilot project was taken over by "the Movement":

Tom Hayden, who had been planning a massive action aimed at the Chicago convention, celebrated the defeat of the armies of imperialism with journalist Andrew Kopkind, and together they tried to figure out how to continue to focus attention on militarism now that the Vietnamese metaphor seemed about to disappear. Both knew Fred Gardner and were familiar with the success of his coffee house project. Perhaps, they thought, the movement could take it over. Call it. . . Summer of Liberation.

Gardner, while not unwilling (the idea of taking a break from his exhausting work appealed to him), insisted on moderating the plan. To begin, he promoted the name Summer of Support—S.O.S. He emphasized the soft-sell, hyper-legal aspect of the idea. . . .

The basic aim of Summer of Support is to provide human contact between the New Left and the enlisted man in at least seven key base towns: Columbia, South Carolina (Fort Jackson); Waynesville, Missouri (Fort Leonard Wood); Killeen, Texas (Fort Hood); Leesville, Louisiana (Fort Polk); Monterey, California (Fort Ord); Louisville, Kentucky (Fort Knox); and Seattle, Washington (Fort Lewis). Other sites are possible. Most of the forts chosen are large, full of basic trainees and draftees. Girls, of course, are essential, a dozen to a town, not only to run the coffee houses but to provide free nursery care and (in locations where schooling is saliently

subpar) auxiliary schooling for Army families. Legal services will be provided. 'Anti-war newspapers will be distributed. Hopefully, there will be concerts, though its hard to say whether the rock groups that have expressed interest will come through. There will also be lectures. Gardner believes the average soldier is so desperate for something to do that, given his ideological neutrality, he'll be glad to come to listen to Staughton Lynd or Howard Zinn. Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden believe, and Gardner defers to their judgment, that if the military attempts to quash such a program with its off-limits powers, it will end up the loser, both in national publicity and in G.I. goodwill.

Andrew Kopkind, mentioned in the above excerpt is an editor of *Hard Times*, formerly *MayDay*, a radical newsletter from Washington, D.C. A solicitation letter from the publication states:

Andrew Kopkind has been a *Time* correspondent, a *Washington Post* reporter, and Washington correspondent for the *New Statesman* (London) and *Le Nouvel Observateur* (Paris). Some of his recent pieces that have had wide impact have been a significant report from Hanoi; an analysis of the McCarthy campaign; a look at the Hippie phenomena; a discussion of Martin Luther King's role in the black revolution.

The *Chicago Tribune* of October 13, 1969 lists the 34-year-old Kopkind as being among the 103 persons seized for his part in the October 1969 Weatherman rampage in Chicago.

The November 24-December 1, 1969 issue of *Hard Times* contains Kopkind's account of the activities during the November "Moratorium" actions in Washington, D.C. The account also reveals that Kopkind took an active part in the more violent manifestations of the gathering.

Kopkind is listed as a sponsor of the Radical Education Project, "an independent educational research and publication program initiated by Students for a Democratic Society, dedicated to the cause of democratic radicalism, and aspiring to the creation of a new left in America."

Fred Gardner is the West Coast editor of *Hard Times*.

The address of Summer of Support was the same as that of the National Mobilization—Room 315, 407 South Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois. It was in these offices that the demonstrations at the 1968 Democratic national convention were planned by joint coordinators for the Mobilization action, Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden. These two persons also coordinated the Summer of Support. The National Mobilization Committee is the successor organization of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which was cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a Communist-dominated organization.

David Dellinger, was Chairman of the National Mobilization Committee To End the War in Vietnam, which organized the Chicago Project Committee, which placed Hayden and Davis as co-project directors in charge of coordinating activities during the Chicago convention.

During Dellinger's testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, investigating the disruptions of the 1968 Democratic national convention

in Chicago, Special Counsel Frank Conley, in questioning Dellinger concerning the June 16, 1968 meeting in Prague, Czechoslovakia between himself and Robert Greenblatt and the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong representatives, the following exchange took place:

Mr. CONLEY. Being specific in this area, did not the National Liberation Front, or the North Vietnamese specifically ask for, and I quote, sir, "competent people to discuss work among soldiers since a major item is exchange of experience and coordination of activities?"

Mr. DELLINGER. That does not sound quite kosher to me. I did not have the benefit of a tape recorder, and I have had many, many conversations before and since with the Vietnamese and others. It does not sound quite like the way they talk when I am with them. I volunteered here, as I will anywhere, my great interest in the coffeehouse program, my great interest in bringing the facts about the war to American soldiers, my support in general of desertion, of refusal to commit war crimes, of any acts which will bring the war to an end and save the lives of Vietnamese and Americans.

I certainly, in talking to the Vietnamese tomorrow, would tell them that one of the things we are doing is carrying out this coffeehouse program. However, I have always made it clear and specifically at the earlier conference when I made an opening speech—if I remember correctly, it was an opening speech—a great deal of my emphasis was on the fact that, as the Vietnamese seemed to themselves emphasize, every people had to work out their own problems and develop their own indigenous movement and, in my view, a whole generation of idealists had been led astray because they had, perhaps for understandable reasons, been subservient to a foreign power, namely, Moscow, and that the present movement in the United States was not that kind of movement.

I wanted to make it very clear to the Vietnamese that we were indigenous and patriotic Americans who were opposed to imperialism and certain other forms of our society; that they must understand from the beginning we would have differences from them as well as agreements with them. It is in this context we have always operated. Therefore the words you read to me don't sound quite correct.

Mr. Dellinger's profession of being one of the "indigenous and patriotic Americans," in his speech before the Viet Cong representatives, rings rather hollow when his statements are compared with his actions. For instance, Dellinger along with Rennie Davis and Tom Hayden were among the five persons of the "Chicago 7," who were sentenced to five years and \$5,000 fines plus sentences for contempt of court, for their part in the Chicago disruptions during the 1968 Democratic national convention.

Since the trio of Dellinger, Hayden, and Davis were the prime movers behind the Summer of Support program, a brief survey of the highlights of their backgrounds follows:

DAVE DELLINGER

When World War II broke out, Dellinger was a student at the liberal Union Theological Seminary, New York City.

In October 1940, Dellinger refused to register for Selective Service, claiming to be a conscientious objector. In November 1940 he was indicted in the southern district of New York, where he pled guilty and was sentenced to serve one year and a day for violation of the Selective Service Act. When he was released from prison he registered with Selective Service; however, in June 1943, he was charged with failure to report for a physical examination, pled guilty, and was sentenced on August 30, 1943, to serve two years in a federal prison.

Dellinger has stated that he is a communist, but not of the Moscow variety. He is the editor of *Liberation* magazine. In the January 1967 issue of this magazine, Dellinger wrote an article entitled "Report from Revolutionary China," which included the following excerpts:

After spending eleven days in China in late October and mid-November, on my way to and from North Vietnam, I feel only expert enough to disagree with most of the China experts, of both the left and the right, as to what is going on there. . . .

The turmoil of the Cultural Revolution is generally interpreted in the United States, on both the left and the right, as evidence of weakness and failure in China. After watching this revolution for eleven short days and talking at length with some of those taking part, I tend to think that it is a sign of strength and vitality. . . .

It is ironic that Americans condemn the turbulence and excesses of the Cultural Revolution as if they reflected an innate Communist evil and a Chinese predisposition to violence.

MOVE. SPEAK "Catalog of the Movement Speakers Bureau" in its 1969 edition lists Dellinger as one of its speakers available for engagements. The catalog provides the following biographical data on Dellinger:

DAVE DELLINGER. EDITOR LIBERATION MAGAZINE; CHAIRMAN NATIONAL MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM; CHARTER MEMBER, THE CONSPIRACY; CO-CHAIRMAN U.S. LATIN AMERICA JUSTICE COMMITTEE; MEMBER BERTRAND RUSSELL INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL. EXTENSIVE TRAVEL TO: CUBA (1960, '64, '68); CHINA ('66); SAIGON ('66); NORTH VIETNAM ('66 & '67); THAILAND (1966), SWEDEN, DENMARK, CAMBODIA (1966, '67); THE PARIS PEACE TALKS (1968, '69) HOLDING EXTENSIVE MEETINGS WITH NORTH VIETNAMESE, NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT, AS WELL AS WITH PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT DELEGATIONS, ALSO WITH NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT AS WELL AS WITH PROVISIONAL REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT DELEGATIONS, ALSO WITH LODGE, HARRIMAN, VANCE AND WALSH OF THE U.S. DELEGATION. ORGANIZER AT PENTAGON ('67) AND CHICAGO ('69) BOOKS PUB-

LISHED: SEEDS OF LIBERATION: TELLING IT LIKE IT WAS, THE CHICAGO RIOTS: CUBA: AMERICA'S LOST PLANTATION: FORTHCOMING—NON-VIOLENCE AND REVOLUTION FOR BOBBS, MERRILL (WINTER 1970). SPEAKING ON: WAR IN VIETNAM. FOREIGN POLICY. CONTEMPORARY MOVEMENTS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE. REVOLUTIONARY HUMANISM. CONTEMPORARY JOURNALISM.

In his testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (SUBVERSIVE INVOLVEMENT IN DISRUPTION OF 1968 DEMOCRATIC PARTY NATIONAL CONVENTION Part 3), Dellinger stated that he had spent considerable time with Communist journalist Wilfred Burchett at his home in Cambodia, prior to his two visits to North Vietnam. Also, on June 16, 1968, in Prague, Czechoslovakia, Dellinger and Robert Greenblatt, held a meeting with the Viet Cong to discuss plans for a meeting to be held in September 1968 in Budapest between American "peace" activists and Viet Cong and North Vietnamese representatives.

In Paris, Dellinger and Greenblatt met with Burchett on at least two occasions, before meeting with U.S. Ambassador to the Paris Peace talks, Averell Harriman. Dellinger is the author of the introduction to one of Burchett's books on Vietnam.

Dellinger is active in the War Resisters League, Committee for Non-Violent Action, New York City's Fifth Avenue Vietnam Peace Parade Committee etc. etc. He was involved with the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the Medical Aid to Cuba Committee, while propagandizing about Castro's government on speaking tours throughout the U.S. and through the pages of *Liberation*.

On December 12, 1969 in New York City, Dellinger was one of three recipients of a Tom Paine award given by the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, a cited Communist Front. The other two recipients were Dr. Howard Levy and Tom Smothers.

TOM HAYDEN

Hayden has an extensive background in subversive and revolutionary activities. He was a founder of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), serving as one of its field representatives in 1961 and 1962, during which time he worked with SNCC in Alabama and Mississippi. He subsequently wrote a pamphlet published by SDS entitled "Revolution in Mississippi." From June 1962 to 1963, he was President of SDS.

In December 1965, Hayden traveled to North Vietnam and Communist China with Communist Herbert Aptheker and revolutionary Staughton Lynd, where they met with Asian Communist leaders in Hanoi and Peking, with a stopover in Prague and a visit in Moscow.

Hayden wrote the foreword to Herbert Aptheker's reminiscences of the trip entitled *Mission To Hanoi*, while collaborating with Staughton Lynd in writing *The Other Side*, which contained their account of the trip. It was published in 1967.

Hayden visited Puerto Rico in April 1967 as a member of a "fact-finding" group. The trip was arranged by the Tri-Continental Information Center.

During his stay in Puerto Rico, Hayden took part in an islandwide march on April 16, 1967, the purpose of which was to protest the drafting of Puerto Ricans for Vietnam duty.

In September 1967 Hayden journeyed to Bratislava, Czechoslovakia to meet with representatives of the NLF and North Vietnamese officials. After this meeting, he traveled to Phnom Penh, Cambodia, in November 1967 where, as arranged, three U.S. Prisoners of War were turned over to him, and brought back to the United States.

In January 1968, he attended the International Cultural Congress (January 4-11) in Havana. David Dellinger was also present at the Congress. In July 1968, Hayden went to Paris where he met with U.S. Ambassador Averell Harriman and also with North Vietnamese and Viet Cong representatives to the Paris Peace talks.

Back in 1964, Hayden and a group of SDS activists organized the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP). According to testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Detective Captain Charles Kinney of the Newark Police Department stated that NCUP infiltrated and seized control of portions of the Newark anti-poverty program, in particular, Area Board 3 of the United Community Corp.

Captain Kinney testified further that Hayden and his followers were in Newark "to turn race against race, class against class, creed against creed, thereby contributing to the climate which caused the riots in Newark in July 1967, which he views as a means to an end."

On February 20, 1970 Hayden was sentenced to five years in prison and fined \$5,000 by federal District Judge Julius Hoffman, after being found guilty of crossing state lines with intent to incite riots during the 1968 Democratic national convention in Chicago. In addition, Hayden was given a contempt of court sentence of fourteen months and fourteen days.

Concerning Hayden's role in the early stages of Summer of Support, Michael Kilian, who interviewed Hayden in May 1968, wrote in the *Chicago Tribune* of May 22, 1968 that:

Hayden is working out of an office at 407 S. Dearborn St., where youth groups are trying to organize U.S.O.'s for Peace, a system of coffee shops outside army bases where soldiers are invited to attend free folk music shows, hear anti-war lectures, and use libraries where peace literature is available.

RENNIE DAVIS

MOVE. SPEAK. "Catalog of the Movement Speakers Bureau" contains the following note on Davis:

RENNIE DAVIS. THE FIRST MAN TO BRING BACK 3 PRISONERS OF THE VIETNAM WAR (1969). FORMER NATIONAL OFFICER OF SDS ('64)

....ORGANIZER JOIN COMMUNITY UNION, APPALACHIA COMMUNITY
....DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION/PROJECT DIRECTOR, HELP FORM GI
COFFEE HOUSES 1968. TWO TRIPS TO NORTH VIETNAM (1967-1969)

Davis was born in Lansing, Michigan, May 23, 1940. Reared in Virginia, he received his B.A. degree in Political Science from Oberlin College in Oberlin, Ohio in 1962.

He attended graduate schools at the University of Illinois, in 1964; University of Michigan, 1965; and the University of Chicago, 1966. He has not received a graduate degree.

Like Hayden, Davis is a founder of SDS. In 1964, he worked with an SDS established Community organizing program. In 1965, he moved to Chicago, where he became a member of JOIN Community Union.

In 1967, he attended a Communist controlled conference in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia. He accepted an invitation for a trip to North Vietnam extended at this conference.

On February 20, 1970 he was sentenced to five years in prison and a \$5,000 fine in addition to two years, one month, and 14 days for contempt of court, by Judge Julius Hoffman for his part in the Chicago demonstrations during the 1968 Democratic national convention.

Before passing sentence, Judge Hoffman allowed the defendants to make final comments. Davis spoke for ten minutes, wherein he made the following comments as reported by the February 21, 1970 *Chicago Tribune*:

"I look to the jury in the streets," he said. "My jury will be in the streets tomorrow...."

"We are going to turn the sons and daughters of the ruling class of this country into the Viet Cong," Davis said.

Thus, with these three subversive persons behind the Summer of Support project, the purposes of the GI coffee houses take on an ominous meaning.

The *Guardian*, in its April 26, 1969 "Viewpoint Section" sounded the gong for more coffee houses:

The potentials for organizing in the armed forces are explosive. As activists have found, the Army is highly vulnerable to political agitation. Military units are now glutted with draftees. In the past two years alone, more than a half million men have been inducted, largely through the draft....

The most unpopular war in American history is hardly popular among the men who have to fight it. AWOLS are up; desertion is up; so is political consciousness. Dissatisfaction has reportedly become so rampant that few GIs—outside the career officers—volunteer for Vietnam duty.

That opposition must be given care and comfort, money when necessary, and manpower whenever needed. GI coffee houses now function outside bases at Ft. Lewis

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in Tacoma, Wash., Ft. Hood in Killeen, Tex., and Ft. Jackson in Columbia, S.C. They serve as alternative meeting grounds for soldiers, political headquarters, off-base relaxation centers and places where young men can pick up and peruse the latest subversive literature. More coffee houses, run by committed radicals, are needed. . . .

The GI movement remains crucial, for the U.S. can no more suppress liberation movements abroad than it can within its ranks.

✓ The war is coming home.

The *Leviathan* ("As a magazine of the movement, we saw our primary task as one of informing our readers—of analyzing the anatomy of the U.S. imperialist whale and describing the various ways in which the movement was trying to rip that whale apart. . . . We're going to learn how to rip that whales guts apart. . . . we're going to fight our way free to join our brothers and sisters around the world who are already fighting for their liberation and ours.") for April 1969 contains an article by Brad Wiley and Dick Newlin entitled "Introducing. . . . The Ultimate Weapon," which points out another aspect of the GI coffee houses as follows:

One of the problems groups like WRL (War Resisters League) and the Resistance have is that within the soldier constituency they have no choice in their contacts. Because they operate away from the bases and in the metropolitan areas, few GI's other than the AWOL fugitive types have the awareness or the opportunity to get in touch with them. As they have gotten farther into "counseling" work, it has become increasingly difficult to reach other GI's besides the "freakouts." But other civilian groups are getting around this problem by taking their operations right to where the soldiers are stationed.

The best known organization of this kind is Support Our Soldiers, which opened the UFO coffeehouse near Fort Jackson, South Carolina, about a year and a half ago. Since then they have helped set up similar projects near other big bases, such as Fort Hood, Texas, Fort Lewis, Washington, and elsewhere. The original purpose of the coffeehouses was to let GIs know that the Movement was supporting, not attacking them when it opposed the war. Today it is evident that the coffeehouses' functions are more diverse and their facilities and programs vary from post to post according to the interests of the GI's. Although the distinction between the two is obviously rather thin, coffeehouses commonly include both "cultural" activities—films, records, books, folk singing groups—and "political" opportunities for raps and discussions on issues GI's want to talk about.

After they are set up, the coffeehouses never have trouble getting publicized and known to soldiers. Any new thing coming into the typical post town, particularly when it is so obviously contradistinctive to the normal pawnshop, B-girl bar, used car lot culture, is an attraction for GI's. . . .

The style and rap at the coffeehouses are counterculture and antimilitary. None of them have any formal program of education and organization to push. Rather they provide an atmosphere that is itself liberating and can also provide support and a place to meet for GI's who are uptight with the military. The very nature of the place, a good scene, good raps with movement people, etc., is an exciting contrast to the rigors of

military life and a challenge to many GI's civilian experiences as well. Every soldier has heard about the "radicals, potsmokers and hippies"; suddenly there they are, right in the local post town.

The scene can also include other more "political" confrontations. The coffeehouses are integrated, and black soldiers and their problems are often around. Furthermore, the staffs themselves are willing to support GI's at odds with the service. They have available literature about the war and the military, and discussions can't help but dwell on a subject on all troopers' minds. The organizers stress the fact that they have no preconceived program, ideology or organizing strategy they feel they have to push. Rather, they see the coffeehouses as meeting places for GI's where their own discussions and thinking can be catalyzed into action.

Not all leftist organizations view the GI coffee house with approval. The August 1969 issue of *PL*, publication of the Maoist Progressive Labor Party, for example, holds the coffee houses in disdain:

In many towns near army bases "anti-war" coffeehouses are popping up. Their purpose, according to the owners, is to organize G.I.'s by getting them to come to these coffeehouses to discuss the war, racism, etc. But in reality these places serve the ruling class in two ways: as a place to cop-out, and as a cop.

Many G.I.'s are looking for a way out. The coffeehouse pulls off the few "politically conscious" G.I.'s and offers them a comfortable, nonhostile atmosphere to escape into every night. Most of the G.I.'s frequenting these coffeehouses are in honest search for a solution. But the most important thing pushed in these joints is the drug culture. The atmosphere is usually psychedelic escapist. The G.I.'s are constantly being bombarded with drugs. Many at Fort Hood's Oleo Strut only come in order to make a connection.

A group of G.I.'s from Fort Gordon visited the UFO coffeehouse in Columbia, S.C., much to their disappointment. They all immediately noticed the passive do-nothing attitude of everyone there. The coffeehouse was also an attraction for the local hippies and pushers, who made it their hangout. When we asked the UFO owners what kind of issues they discussed with the G.I.'s their response was, "Oh, that's not my bag. Personally I would like to set up some kind of art store." In other words, the people who are picked to staff these coffeehouses are basically concerned about themselves and not the mass of soldiers. . . .

Another dangerous aspect of the coffeehouse concept is that it encourages everyone to gather in the hottest spot possible in order to "organize." The houses are open to all, including Government agents, and they are constantly watched by Military Intelligence. Everyone that is against the war and plans to attend might just as well register directly with Army Intelligence.

Harvey Stone, in a Liberation News Service story which appeared in the July 26-August 1, 1968 Los Angeles underground paper *Open City* was one of the first "movement" types to call attention to the coffee houses:

FORT HOOD, TEXAS (LNS)—The war in Vietnam is now the longest war in

America's violent history. In addition to the genocide being committed against the Vietnamese, thousands upon thousands of American G.I.'s have been killed or wounded. But "G.I." is merely a label we use; beneath the uniform are real people. Sometimes we forget that.

Thus, the summer of support project has been organized, first, to break down the attitude among many soldiers that Americans who are for peace have little concern for those who must fight; second, to create an understanding within the peace movement that the average G.I. is NOT the enemy; third, to serve as a kind of civilian watchdog committee, supporting and drawing attention to the legitimate grievances of G.I.s which are never heard; and fourth, to give more concrete public focus to the only genuine measure of peace: the demobilization of the troops.

The execution of the project revolves around a number of coffee houses in army towns around the country. To date, there are such coffee houses operating at Fort Jackson (Columbia, S.C.), Fort Leonard Wood (Waynesville, Mo.), Fort Lewis (Tacoma, Wash.) and Fort Hood (Killeen, Tex.). Others are being planned for Fort Dix (in New Jersey) and Fort Ord (in California).

The coffee house at Fort Hood is perhaps typical of the operational problems and methods. Having opened only about ten days ago, it received an immediate and enthusiastic response from the G.I.'s. Even in the prior three month period during which it was being readied, numerous soldiers came by to help out with the construction work. The identification with the place—for some of them—was an instantaneous one. . . .

Thus, night after night the Oleo Strut has been packed. Particularly those soldiers who are most turned off by the Army (and America in general) are the most turned on to the posterred walls and humane treatment. Last Tuesday (July 2nd), after the coffee house had been open only a week, the manager, Ralph Lefebvre, stood up before the G.I.s and announced that the Oleo Strut was part of the Summer of Support project. The PEOPLE responded with a standing ovation. This was their coffee house, and, should trouble come, many of them will defy the army in support of the Oleo Strut. . . .

In time, it is hoped that a legal commission on military justice will be established, both Texas-wide and nationally, to provide further support for G.I.s. The coffee houses are merely a beginning, although an important one. The American military is the strongest in the world, and until it is dissipated much of the world will remain an American colony.

Thus, relating to G.I.s as people is critical. The Army does much to turn many of them off; we must do the rest. If people are interested in helping—and people are very much needed—they should contact: Summer of Support, Room 305, 407 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois.

Radicals In The Professions Newsletter of July-August 1968, published by the Radical Education Project, "an independent educational research and publication program initiated by Students for a Democratic Society, dedicated to the cause of democratic radicalism, and aspiring to the creation of a new left in America," carried the following notice on the Summer of Support:

Summer of Support

Summer of Support is an effort now underway to reach directly those that the anti-war movement has often antagonized the most—American GIs. The program aims at establishing coffee houses in major army towns across the country. Thus far four coffee houses are in operation: in Killeen, Texas; Columbia, South Carolina; Waynesville, Missouri; and Tacoma, Washington.

The response by GIs to this project has been good—in every coffee house soldiers have volunteered to wait on tables, wash dishes, et cetera. The atmosphere of the coffee house provides an environment where soldiers can organize themselves if they want to. Our experience with the coffee houses thus far indicates that this will, in fact, occur.

The program is aimed not only at providing a place where soldiers can meet, but also at beginning to break down certain attitudes. In employing tactics such as “confronting the war-makers,” we have often naively tended to view the GI either as a poor fool or as “the enemy.” Our tactics have, of course, often resulted in antagonizing soldiers and made for little interaction. The coffee house project aims at breaking down these attitudes, providing an opportunity for soldiers to organize themselves, and focusing public attention on the need to bring the troops home now.

With four coffee houses in operation and more being set up, we are in need of competent staff. Those interested in either working for the rest of the summer or beginning work in the fall should contact us as soon as possible. Summer of Support, 407 South Dearborn Street (Room 315), Chicago, Ill.

A Summer of Support letter dated May, 1968 reported on the progress of the coffee houses as follows:

In June, over a hundred selected students and veterans will move into small army training towns to set up “USO’s for Peace”—coffee houses for GI’s facing orders for Vietnam.

In remote areas like Killeen, Texas and Waynesville, Missouri, these coffee houses will serve as cultural antidotes or alternatives to the militaristic, regimented, frequently violent Army town environment. They will provide an opportunity for GI’s to talk, listen to rock groups and other entertainers or just relax. In addition, organizers will establish day-care centers for the children of army personnel, provide legal counseling, offer movies and theatre and put out newspapers geared to the Army scene.

Like millions of others, we are uneasy about the mobilization of Reserves, the ever-increasing draft calls, the new military offensives and the indications that negotiations could drag on for years. We believe a national effort is required to focus public attention on the need to withdraw American troops from Vietnam. To that end, we are calling for a “Summer of Support,” a national program to support GI’s and their right to come home.

Pilot projects already underway show that our coffee houses are being warmly accepted by soldiers in training. It is the soldier, after all, who suffers most directly from the war and who has most to gain by its coming to a fast, unambiguous end.

Summer of Support needs your immediate help. Our goal is nine coffee houses

in operation by June 12 (one in each major training town.) Each coffee house requires an investment of approximately \$3,600 to become self-supporting. We have been recruiting and training an exceptional staff, but need immediate funds to open the projects for the summer.

Until recently, the peace movement has shown little interest in the plight of the men who actually fight the war. And in an election year with the newspapers, radio and TV focusing on the Presidential contest, it would be easy to continue to ignore these faceless victims of war.

We insist that it is not the rhetoric of a campaign but actions for peace through projects such as Summer of Support that will affect the mood of the country in the coming months and help bring this brutalizing war to an end.

With your help we can get the job done—now!

Peace,

from the sponsors of Summer of Support

There followed on the May 1968 **Summer of Support** letterhead, a list of sponsors, which reads as follows:

Edward Albee
Rev. James Bevel
Marlon Brando
Rev. William Sloane Coffin, Jr.
David Dellinger
Don Duncan

Nat Hentoff
Dustin Hoffman
Donna Mickleson
Jack Newfield
Phil Ochs
Monsignor Charles O. Rice
Admiral Arnold True

To gain insight into the purposes and tenor of the coffee houses a brief survey of the backgrounds of the persons listed as sponsors of the Summer of Support follows:

EDWARD ALBEE

Albee, a playwright of the theater of the absurd, was one of more than eighty actors, entertainers and writers who were flown to various cities in the U.S. as a part of coordinated rallies for the Eugene McCarthy Presidential campaign.

A part of his play, "The Zoo Story," was read during a two-hour "happening" at the opening session of the 27th Annual Liturgical Week at the Kansas City Municipal Auditorium in August 1967. In an October 21, 1962 review of Albee's play "Who's Afraid of Virginia Wolf," in the *New York Sunday News*, John Chapman wrote that it was "a calculated exercise in depraved obscenity."

Albee's plays, "Box" and "Quotations from Chairman Mao," opened in New York September 30, 1968 at the Billy Rose Theater.

REV. JAMES BEVEL

A Baptist minister, the Rev. Bevel, is a former SNCC activist, and was one of Dr. Martin Luther King's top paid leaders, as General Field Secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Bevel was a Sponsor of Vietnam Week (April 8-15, 1967) and of the Chicago Conference, held at the University of Chicago December 28-30, 1966 to protest U.S. efforts in Vietnam. He took a leave of absence to serve as national director of the Spring Mobilization Committee To End the War In Vietnam. Bevel was specifically released from his duties with SCLC by the Rev. Martin Luther King. Concerning the Rev. King's action, a House Committee on Un-American Activities report entitled *Communist Origin and Manipulation of Vietnam Week* (April 8-15, 1967) noted that:

Dr. Martin Luther King's agreement to play a leading role in the April 15 demonstrations in New York City, and his freeing Rev. James Bevel from his key position in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to head up the Spring Mobilization Committee are evidence that the Communists had succeeded at least partially in implementing their strategy of fusing the Vietnam and civil rights issues in order to strengthen their chances of bringing about a reversal of U.S. policy in Vietnam.

Bevel's wife, Diane Nash Bevel, in 1966, made a trip to Hanoi, North Vietnam via Moscow, accompanied by Grace Mora Newman, sister of Dennis Mora of **Fort Hood Three** fame; Barbara Deming, a member of the editorial board of *Liberation* magazine; and Mrs. Joe Griffeth, wife of a Cornell University chemistry professor. The *Chicago Tribune* of December 17, 1966 reported that:

David Dellinger, editor of *Liberation* magazine, said in New York yesterday that he brought the invitation to the women when he returned from Hanoi recently.

Mrs. Bevel is a founder of SNCC. She and her husband, along with Paul Brooks, asked James Forman (the bearded prophet of Black Manifesto fame) to direct the SNCC office in Atlanta many years ago. At a 1961 meeting at the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, Mrs. Bevel was put in charge of direct action projects for SNCC.

The San Francisco *Sun-Reporter* (published by Carlton Goodlett, an associate of the Communist California Labor School, who was deported from Britain in 1965 after he attempted to meet with the leader of an international Communist "peace" front) carried an interview, in which Mrs. Bevel, after her trip to North Vietnam stated:

"It is time Negroes realize that the powerful U.S. military machine is murdering friends of black people. And it is time Negro youths decide whether or not they want to help murder other non-white people."

MARLON BRANDO

The *Worker* of April 28, 1968, in an article entitled "Stars in the Fight for Civil Rights and Peace," lists Marlon Brando as one of the stars who are: "concerning themselves more and more with the fights for peace and black liberation." Concerning Brando's activities the article continues:

Marlon Brando announced this week he was curtailing his acting career to devote himself totally to the fight for Black liberation. Brando said, "The time is

now or never for whites to stand up against racism." He has persuaded several entertainers to contribute one percent of their annual income to civil rights groups. Brando recently declared his solidarity with the Black Panthers, who are under attack by the Oakland, Calif., police.

The Worker of February 5, 1968 lists Brando as among the sponsors of festivities marking the 100th Anniversary of deceased Communist Dr. W.E.B. DuBois on February 23, 1968 at Carnegie Hall in New York City, under the auspices of *Freedomways* magazine.

On May 17, 1968 Brando joined the Rev. Ralph Abernathy and Reies Tijerina as a speaker at the Civic Auditorium in Albuquerque, New Mexico, which was described as "a stirring climax in the march of the poor on Washington" by Sam Kushner in the May 25, 1968 Communist paper, *People's World*.

REV. WILLIAM SLOANE COFFIN, JR.

The Rev. Coffin has had a varied career as an ex-CIA man, a "freedom rider" in the South in the early sixties, and now a "peace" activist.

He is a member of the radical leftist **Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam**. Rev. Coffin was sentenced to two years in prison and fined \$5,000 for conspiracy to counsel, aid, and abet young men to violate draft laws. However, the court of Appeals set aside the conviction and ordered a retrial. According to a letterhead dated November 11, 1969, Rev. Coffin is an Honorary Chairman of the **New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam**.

DONALD DUNCAN

Duncan is listed in MOVE. SPEAK. "Catalog of the Movement Speakers Bureau" as follows:

DONALD W. DUNCAN. FORMER EDITOR OF RAMPARTS AND AUTHOR OF NEW LEGIONS (RANDOM HOUSE). 10½ YEARS OF HIS LIFE SPENT IN THE U.S. ARMY, 5 OF THOSE YEARS IN THE SPECIAL FORCES (GREEN BERETS)—THE LAST YEAR AND A HALF IN VIETNAM. SINCE THEN WAS AN EDITOR OF RAMPARTS MAGAZINE AND AUTHOR OF NEW LEGIONS. WILL SPEAK ON: INSURGENCY, VIETNAM, LAOS, CAMBODIA.

Duncan testified at the Bertrand Russell International War Crimes Tribunal Nov. 20-Dec. 1, 1967 in Copenhagen, Denmark about Special Forces plans for repression of "popular revolutions." Needless to say, the United States was found "guilty" of such crimes.

Duncan participated at a February 11, 1968 meeting in Chicago to discuss plans for leftist activities at the 1968 Democratic National Convention. Other participants included: Rennie Davis, Dave Dellinger, Tom Hayden, and Communist Party, USA members Charlene Mitchell and Don Hammerquist. There were 34 persons in all.

'NAT' HENTOFF

In his book *A Prophetic Minority* (Signet Book, 1966) Jack Newfield wrote:

Since the New Left is essentially traditionless itself, it is appropriate that the movement's most prolific popularizer should be such a basically unpolitical man as Nat Hentoff. Hentoff is an informed jazz critic, a sharp-eyed observer of the managed press, and one of the *New Yorker's* most fluent house writers. But grinding out computerized material for such varied outlets as *Status*, *Playboy*, *Liberation* and *The Partisan Review*, Hentoff is far removed from both the internal life of the New Left and the realities of power in Washington.

The October 7, 1965 issue of *Tocsin*, a now defunct West Coast anti-Communist publication, contained the following data on Hentoff's penchant for leftist causes:

Nat Hentoff, writer, New York, a sponsor of last June's "Emergency Rally on Viet Nam" organized by Sane. Hentoff was also among protesters of the 1961 anti-Communist invasion of Cuba, signed an anti-McCarran Act petition this year and has been a recent proponent of a New York police "review board" in the wake of the 1964 Harlem riots. He was a sponsor of Norman Thomas' 80th Birthday Committee last year, signed a "declaration of conscience" against U.S. policies in Viet Nam and is a member of the national advisory committee of the militantly pacifist War Resisters League. Hentoff is also one of the "Defenders of Three Against HUAC," a group fighting contempt citations of three reluctant committee witnesses.

The October 1969 issue of *Liberation* lists Hentoff as an associate editor. Hentoff is listed as a sponsor of the SDS initiated Radical Education Project.

DUSTIN HOFFMAN

Dustin Hoffman was catapulted to fame and fortune through his role in the low-budgeted and sex-pot motion picture "The Graduate." Released in December 1967, the movie has so far grossed the third highest box office receipts in motion picture history. He also starred in the homosexual theme film "Midnight Cowboy."

Hoffman has been a stellar attraction at leftist sponsored "peace" activities. For example, the Communist *Daily World* of December 27, 1969 reports that Hoffman read a poem of peace in the mall of New York's Central Park on December 24, 1969, as part of a nationwide protest against the Vietnam war sponsored by the Vietnam Moratorium Committee.

On June 27, 1969, the *Daily World*, in reporting on a June 25 Madison Square Garden rally against the ABM noted that:

Broadway and Hollywood made their contribution with a skit in which Tony Randall tried to sell the missile program to George Segal, with acid comments along the way by Lauren Bacall and Dustin Hoffman.

DONNA MICKLESON

While a student at San Francisco State College, Miss Mickleson helped set up the "Experimental College," which offered such courses as a seminar on guerrilla

warfare. Castroite agents and Communist Party members were associated with the program. Miss Mickleson was a **Friends of SNCC** organizer, and a staff member of the revolutionary *San Francisco Express Times*.

In a February 1969 Esquire article "A Spectators Guide to the Troublemakers," Donna Mickleson is listed under the heading "Guerrillas" as follows:

DONNA MICKLESON (San Francisco). National Coordinator of Support Our Soldiers, which sets up Movement-oriented coffeehouses near military posts to win over GI's. Helped set up the experimental college while attending San Francisco State College, then worked in the first coffeehouse, the U.F.O. near Fort Jackson, in Columbia, S.C.

In the October 1968 issue of *The Movement*, she stated that she was invited by Fred Gardner in 1967, to help establish the first GI coffee house, the UFO. In the same article she wrote:

From my perspective as a fund-raiser and coordinator on behalf of SOS and after spending eight months in Columbia, S.C., I see varying amounts of value in these ways of relating the movement and the military. But all of them look like a part of a healthy move in the direction of breaking into one of the most important potential constituencies as yet untapped in the country.

JACK NEWFIELD

Newfield, a journalist and writer, is assistant editor of *The Village Voice*, Greenwich Village, New York City. The December 1, 1961 issue of *Common Sense* "An Independent Student Journal" in New York City (now defunct), listed Newfield as member of the Student Committee to Elect Mark Lane as Representative of the 19th Congressional district in Manhattan. Newfield was listed as a member of the managing board of the publication.

The August 5, 1965 issue of *The Village Voice* contains an article by Newfield, "Can the Children of Camus Cure the Newark Plague?" in which he presents a fanciful account of Tom Hayden's Newark Community Union Project activities in Newark, N. J., which is totally at odds with subsequent revelations concerning the organizations' subversive nature, for example:

Most of the 40 summer volunteers are typical of the new student radicals. They are middle class, idealistic, anti-ideological. . . .

Many seem to have a religious or mystical feeling about the poor, believing they possess an inherent poetry or goodness, rather than Marx's notion that they have a revolutionary potential. The students seem more like lay ministers or therapists than agitators for a social revolution. . . .

The Newark project contains one of the most respected thinkers of the new left in Tom Hayden, former president of Students for a Democratic Society. But, in the style of the new radicals, Hayden bends over backwards not to dominate the decisions of NCUP.

Steven V. Roberts, writing in the December 1969 issue of *Esquire*, provides an insight into Newfield's use of honeyed words to describe Hayden and the NCUP organization. Roberts notes that during the Columbia University insurrection, Hayden was an active participant, and:

As the police massed for their invasion of the campus, a group of somewhat radical intellectuals gathered outside the Math Building: Jules Feiffer, Jason Epstein of Random House, Jack Newfield of *The Village Voice*, a few *Ramparts* editors. It was Hayden who drew them; they seemed to feel that just by being near him they might imbibe the vibrations of true radicalism.

In his 1966 book *A Prophetic Minority* (Signet Books), Newfield wrote:

In 1962 I had been a full-time activist in Students for a Democratic Society in the months prior to its founding convention at Port Huron, Michigan, and immediately after it, when the organization scratched and clawed to survive in the jungle of "youth politics."

Newfield is listed as a signer of an ad sponsored by **Writers and Editors War Tax Protest** in the *New York Post* of January 30, 1968, wherein the signatories declared that "believing that American involvement in Vietnam is morally wrong, (we) pledge: 1) None of us voluntarily will pay the proposed 10% income tax surcharge or any war-designated tax increase 2) Many of us will not pay the 23% of our current income tax which is being used to finance the war in Vietnam."

Newfield is a member of the **Committee to Defend the Conspiracy**, the defendants who were charged with, among other things, crossing state lines to incite riots during the 1968 national Democratic Convention.

PHIL OCHS

Ochs, a guitar strumming folksinger and composer, was one of the participants in the first **Viet Nam Day in Berkeley** back in 1965. In 1966 "protest singer" Ochs was in London, entertaining for the **Young Communist League**, in their fund drive for medical aid to the Viet Cong.

The *Guardian* of June 29, 1968 noted that "Phil Ochs gave a benefit concert in Stockholm, half the proceeds going to the **American Deserters Committee**, the other half to Hanoi University."

Ochs was one of seven "Yippies" arrested in Chicago and charged with disorderly conduct, for bringing a 150-pound pig to the Civic Center Plaza in the days immediately prior to the Democratic national convention. This was their porcine presidential candidate. Ochs was also a defense witness at the conspiracy trial of the "Chicago 7".

MONSIGNOR CHARLES OWEN RICE

Pittsburgh's 'labor priest' was the subject of a portion of an editorial comment in the July 1966 issue of *Political Affairs*, "Theoretical Journal of the Communist Party, U.S.A.". The editorial comment was entitled "Communism and the

Churches,” and gives Msgr. Rice as an example of a Roman Catholic cleric who evinces a “vastly altered attitude” toward Communists. The editorial comment goes on to state that:

His changed attitude is demonstrated also in his sharing of the platform, on the occasion of the International Days of Protest against the war in Vietnam with such fellow speakers as the national president of the DuBois Clubs of America—something which those who knew the old Father Rice would scarcely have expected.

Clearly, Monsignor Rice is still a long way from being a Communist. But his present position permits of cooperation and dialogue with Communists, and that is fundamental.

Msgr. Rice is listed as a member of the **National Committee of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam** on a letterhead dated November 11, 1969.

ADMIRAL ARNOLD TRUE

The Admiral is a veteran of World Wars I and II and of thirty years active duty in the U.S. Navy, seven of which were spent in the Far East. He has taught college for a number of years, as a San Jose State College meteorology professor.

In a letter to the editor of the *San Francisco Chronicle* of September 6, 1966, Admiral True, in noting his displeasure with events in Vietnam wrote:

In view of these facts, is it not time for a change in the direction of our foreign policy? I suggest that the cause of world peace, the security of the United States, and the moral and political position of America in the world could be best advanced by the appointment of Senator J. W. Fulbright as Secretary of State.

The Admiral is a familiar figure at “peace” rallies and parades, and is an active member of **Veterans for Peace in Vietnam**. This group, with headquarters in Chicago, was founded in 1966 by Leroy Wolins, subject of a May 10, 1969 article by Ronald Koziol in the *Chicago Tribune* entitled “GI POWs Given Paper Printed By Communist,” which reads as follows:

An anti-war newspaper, which is printed in Chicago under the guidance of an identified Communist, is one of two newspapers being distributed to American prisoners of war in Viet Nam for propaganda purposes, The Tribune learned yesterday.

Military intelligence sources disclosed that copies of the *Veterans Stars and Stripes* for Peace, published by a group known as the Vets for Peace with offices at 431 S. Dearborn St., have been given to POW's in an effort to show that the American people are not behind the GI's in Viet Nam.

The information came to light after intelligence officers interviewed scores of GI's who escaped from their communist captors. The GI's related that the only American newspapers they were permitted to read were the *Veterans Stars and Stripes*, and the *National Guardian*, which is published in New York and which has been identified by the United States attorney general's office as “an official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia.”

Investigators believe the newspapers are first being sent to Cuba, then to Hanoi for distribution to prison camps.

A recent issue of *Veterans Stars and Stripes* carried pictures showing crowds of alleged GI's and ex-GI's carrying large signs which said, "GI's March for Peace."

Stories in the issue carried headlines such as, "GI Resistance to War Grows," and "GI's Resist the Viet War."

One of the founders of the **Vets for Peace** and its driving force is LeRoy Wolins, a resident of the Hyde Park area. He organized the group in 1965 and now serves on its executive council.

Wolins was identified as a Communist in May, 1965, in testimony before the House committee on un-American activities by Miss Lola Belle Holmes of Chicago.

Miss Holmes had held many high posts in the Illinois Communist party from 1946 to 1958, including positions on the state governing board, the press committee, and the party's Negro commission.

She told the committee members that she observed Wolins at many closed-door meetings of the state Communist party.

Authorities said that Wolins also served as executive secretary of the **Chicago Council for American-Soviet Friendship**, which was cited in 1950 by the attorney general as a communist front organization.

Wolins has engaged in anti-war activities at nearby military bases, including the financing of printing of an underground newspaper called *Logistics* that was distributed for a short time at Fort Sheridan.

The paper had stories about GI's protesting the war and told of "the major evils of this institution."

Wolin's current activities include helping to organize a national anti-war conference to be held in Cleveland the last week-end in June.

A **Summer of Support** letterhead dated August 1968 lists the following persons as Staff Associates:

Connie Brown

Rennie Davis

Don Duncan

Fred Gardner

Tom Hayden

Donna Mickleson

Jean Strouse

Davis, Duncan, Gardner, Hayden, and Mickleson have already been discussed.

CONNIE BROWN

Miss Brown was a member of the **Newark Community Union Project** headed by Tom Hayden. In his testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, *Subversive Influences In Riots, Looting, and Burning Part 4* (Newark, N.J.) April 23 and 24, 1968 p. 1873, Detective Captain Charles Kinney of the

Newark, N.J. Police Department provided the following background summary on Constance Brown:

Mr. KINNEY. Constance Brown was born on January 24, 1943 in Newton, Massachusetts. She is white and graduated from Swarthmore College in 1964.

She is employed by the Essex County, New Jersey, Welfare Board, and is considered by her NCUP colleagues as "the expert on welfare mothers. . . ."

She has authority to sign checks for the Newark Community Project of the Students for a Democratic Society. . . . She was arrested on April 1, 1967, at 479 Clinton Avenue in Newark for failure to comply with orders to move by police officers while picketing illegally with a large group.

She was the author of an article entitled "Cleveland: Conference of the Poor," in the Spring 1965 issue of *Studies on the Left*. She was listed in the magazine as being associated with the Newark Community Union Project.

The Communist newspaper, *The Worker*, of July 10, 1966, listed Constance Brown as the person to contact at the Newark Center of the Poverty Rights Action Center. The *National Guardian* of April 1, 1967, listed Miss Brown as active in the Newark Community Union Project, and the *New York World Journal* of January 1, 1967, listed her as being employed by that organization.

Miss Brown and two other female activists were arrested in Chicago during the 1968 Democratic national Convention, for dropping an acid solution on carpeting in a cocktail lounge of the Palmer House Hotel. Along with three vials of acid solution found in her purse, police found Tom Hayden's passport which had been cancelled after his unauthorized trip to Hanoi in 1965, and a blue book which contained the names and addresses of 38-hard-core communist and leftwing agitators in 10 states. One of the other females arrested with Miss Brown, Corinna Fales, who was active in the Newark Community Union Project, is also active in the GI coffee house at Fort Dix, New Jersey.

JEAN STROUSE

The last of the Staff Associates on the **Summer of Support** letterhead, Miss Strouse signed an ad in the *New York Times* of November 20, 1968 sponsored by the **International Committee to Defend Eldridge Cleaver**.

UNITED STATES SERVICEMEN'S FUND

Donna Mickleson wrote in the October 1968 issue of the *Movement* that:

One Coffeehouse has grown into a "Summer of Support," which as fall comes on will simply become "Support Our Soldiers" and hopes to continue growing and expanding into new areas.

Support Our Soldiers, in the Spring of 1969, became the **United States Servicemen's Fund (USSF)**. The Fund has two offices, 430 W. 250th St., Riverdale, N.Y. 10471, and P.O. Box 3061, Oakland, California 94609.

• The **United States Servicemen's Fund** was incorporated in Delaware, with certified tax exemption from the Internal Revenue Service as a "charitable and educational organization."

A January 24, 1970 letterhead from the organization, lists the Board of Directors of the United States Servicemen's Fund as follows:

Fred Gardner

President

Donna Mickleson

Executive Director

Robert Zevin

Secretary-Treasurer

Donald Duncan

Rev. Richard R. Fernandez

Dr. Howard Levy

Grace Paley

Mrs. Cora Weiss

ROBERT ZEVIN

Zevin, Secretary-Treasurer of USSF, is head of the Fund's New York office. Zevin is a self-employed investment counselor and has taught economics at Harvard, University of California at Berkeley, and Columbia.

— END OF PART I —

(To Be Continued as June 1970 NEWS AND VIEWS)

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AUGUST 1, 1970

WHO BREWED WHAT IN MILWAUKEE?

Hundreds of activists and organizers from the "Conspiracy," New Mobilization Committee, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, National Welfare Rights Organization, Chicago Moratorium, Vietnam Moratorium, Communist Party U.S.A., and other groups met June 27 and 28 at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee for a Strategy Action Conference.

Among those who sponsored the conference was the Rev. Dr. John J. Regier of the National Council of Churches. Other sponsors were described by the Communist Party newspaper, *DAILY WORLD*, as "peace, student, black liberation, anti-poverty and labor leaders."

The conference met jointly with the national conference of students from schools on strike. The meeting, which was closed to the press, adopted a major national plan to have "long marches" on Washington, D.C., with widespread civil disobedience intended to paralyze the capital. According to Rennie Davis, convicted defendant in the "Conspiracy" trial, the marchers will tie up traffic in the city until the government agrees to meet with the demonstrators and work out an end to the War in Vietnam.

Sidney Lens, long-time leftist agitator from Chicago, called for 200,000 autos with 4 persons in each to descend on Washington, D.C. in mid-October. Invaders are supposed to picket the embassies of South Vietnam, South Korea and Thailand. Also, on the agenda are: Dialogues at the Pentagon, open air meetings, a call for a general strike by U.S. Government workers and propaganda campaign for an international "Don't Buy American" program.

Conspicuous by its absence is any proposal for picketing the communist embassies of North Vietnam, North Korea, Red China or the Soviet Union. Why, Mr. Lens?

ADD A VOLUME TO VOLUMES

Oxford University Press in its Spring, 1970 catalogue announces the publication of a 336-page book, profusely illustrated, *INDUSTRIAL SLAVERY IN THE OLD SOUTH*, by Robert S. Starobin.

The catalogue describes Mr. Starobin as an assistant professor of History, University of Wisconsin, Madison. No mention was made of the fact that he

is the son of the one-time Communist Party stalwart, Joseph Starobin, or that he was a leader of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1964-1965.

"ART FOR ART'S SAKE?"

No, not necessarily so when it comes to the Chicago Art Institute.

This tax-exempt recipient of large and small capitalistic gifts recently provided a room and telephone facilities for the Chicago Area Strike Council.

The phone number (236-7375) for the Strike Council, is the same as the Chicago Art Institute and this has been confirmed by an institute official who admitted that Chicago's famed art museum provided free use of the room for those planning a "city-wide strike" to protest the United States policies in Vietnam.

The Student Mobilizer, Vol. 3, No. 5, published by the Student Mobilization Committee, 1029 Vermont, N.W., Suite 907, Washington, D.C., confirmed that the Chicago Art Institute became the design center for the city-wide strike.

The famed Chicago Art Institute is supposed to be a public institution for displaying famous art works from around the world. What will the donors and supporters say about the new "art form" of providing offices for revolutionaries?

OLD TRINITY CHURCH BECOMES AMUSEMENT CENTER

One of America's beautiful Episcopal churches, Old Trinity, at the head of Wall Street in New York City, recently opened its doors to a Rock Band known as The Communication Workshop, which filled the sanctuary with rafter-raising electronic noise, under the theme: "The Impact of Rock Music On Business."

About a hundred assorted youngsters straggled into the church a little after noon on June 24 to listen to the rock group and to hear several individuals speak on why "the business world needs youth."

In reply to a question by one of the hippies, as to why his radio station would not play a certain anti-Nixon song, "Cousin Brucie" of ABC Radio replied, "I would like to play it, but you cannot change things overnight."

The leader of the Workshop Group, which ar-

ranged this strange program, told the clergymen and businessmen present:

"You're trying to ask us to join your culture, and that's not going to work. We would like you to join our culture."

As designed by the Rock generation?

SLAM

Anne Braden, identified communist and over active activist for the left, is at it again. This time its through an outfit calling itself Southern Legal Action Movement (SLAM) P.O. 50435, New Orleans, Louisiana 70160 (504) 861-7926.

Mrs. Braden, wife of convicted Communist Carl Braden, signed a letter of appeal, dated May 1970, and identifying herself with the Southern Conference Educational Fund, for money to provide funds for recruiting and educating "attorneys to the needs of the Southern Movement." The Southern Movement is defined as giving legal aid to demonstrating blacks and to GIs who get in trouble with United States military authorities.

The tireless Anne never seems to run out of energy for promoting leftist causes!

ENTERTAINMENT IN THE RED

For over thirty-five years the Communist Party has pursued a plan of sneaky penetration, pretense, dissembling and distortion to carry on its program of propagandizing the non-Communist world, and the United States in particular, by way of the entertainment media. We've had slanted, subliminal and suggestive lines and scenes in movies and on TV, in the press and on radio, on the stage and in song. However, a program called "Alternative Media" outlined by top radicals of the New and the Old Left meeting recently in Milwaukee at a National Strategy Conference, may revolutionize the revolutionary approach to the public. Several categories of entertainment were dealt with at the conference:

I. Films: Films that are frankly revolutionary are being pushed. They deal with such subjects as the Vietnam war, "racism," an umbrella term to cover everything from benign civil rights marches to the violence of the Black Panthers and other militants, "repression" and others. Films may be rented or purchased from the Technology and Society Committee (TASC) of San Francisco, American Documentary Films of New York and San Francisco and from Newsreel, with offices in Chicago, New York, Boston, San Francisco and Atlanta.

II. Television: There are two parts to the revolutionary program for television, according to a speaker at the conference, one being the down-grading and discrediting of the present network fare, the other being to supplant these programs with revolutionary material.

III. Radio: A group called Radio Free People will supply tapes to be played over the liberally-oriented FM stations and to be worked in on others wherever

possible. These tapes include speeches by black militant Eldridge Cleaver, an account of the killing of Illinois Black Panther leader, Fred Hampton, records of student protests, strikes, rebellions, mutiny, and so on.

IV. Music: or what passes for it in the radical world. This covers revolutionary Rock and Roll songs, some taped for broadcast over "friendly" stations, and for presentation at the orgies called Rock Festivals. Folk songs by such leftists as Pete Seeger, Barbara Dane, Phil Ochs and the gentle anti-war Joan Baez may be continued as a revolutionary media, or may be supplanted by the more blatant bawling of Rock and Roll.

V. Art: This subject was not covered at the Conference to our knowledge, but for several years a Protest Art has been developing, especially in centers where radical sentiment is strong. For instance an "Art Works for Peace" exhibit was presented at the First Unitarian Church in San Francisco showing so-called art works in protest against the Indochina war.

VI. Theatre: Shortly after the endurance contest of the so-called Grape Strike began in California, one of the camp followers of Cesar Chavez organized *El Teatro Campesino*, (the Workman's Theatre), which was frankly revolutionary. Other revolutionary theatre groups sprang up around the country and, of course, in New York.

VII. Poetry: A promotion piece for a "something" calling itself IKON, Poet-Tree & Guerrilla Art, 76½ East Fourth Street, New York, was circulated at the Conference. It stated in part: "The demands of revolution have always been the demands of art. And these demands apply not only to the artist but to every human being involved in revolution."

Many years ago the Communist Party had a slogan which covered this entire field: "Art is a Weapon."

The new radicals are merely attempting to sharpen the weapon.

REVOLUTIONISTS PROFIT FROM CAPITALISTS' MONEY

Revolution has paid off handsomely for both the hirsute Jerry Rubin and the wild-haired Abbie Hoffman, with more than 30 arrests between them. Hoffman's two books, (first, *REVOLUTION FOR THE HELL OF IT*, by Dial Press, and second, *WOOD-STOCK NATION*, Random House) have sold more than 191,000 copies and have already earned over \$50,000 in royalties, advances, resale rights, etc. As a bonus, he has received about \$25,000 for movie rights from Metro-Goldwyn Mayer, with more payments still pending.

Rubin's book, *DO IT*, has sold 175,000 copies since it appeared in 1969 and has earned at least \$45,000 from paperback sales alone.

According to John J. Goldman, writing for *Times-Post Service* (article appearing in *SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE*, July 9, 1970), the key person in the

success of these revolutionaries was Joyce Johnson, an editor of Dial Press. She lived in the East Village and said, "One could not help becoming aware of Abbie. Just on the off-chance he might be interested in doing a book, I dropped him a note." He did the book and it "jelled" after the notoriety he received at the Democratic National Convention in 1968.

THE DRUGGED SOCIETY

We have pills to put us to sleep, pills to wake us up, pills for headaches and hangovers and to cut down the threat of over-population. Now there's a pill to keep the kiddies quiet.

Between five and ten per cent of Omaha's 62,000 school children are being dosed with what are called "behavior modification" pills, according to a Times-Post Service dispatch, carried in a recent issue of the *SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE*.

Dr. Byron B. Oberst, Omaha pediatrician who introduced the plan for the Omaha public schools, stated that five drugs were commonly prescribed, but that the one principally used was Ritalin, a stimulant. He said it increased the child's ability to concentrate, and that he became more self-confident when under its influence.

Following the publication of this story, a horrified yelp was heard from Representative Cornelius E. Gallagher, Democrat, New Jersey, who heads a continuing study on alleged invasions of privacy for the House Government Operations Committee. He ordered a preliminary inquiry into the Omaha matter to ascertain if Federal funds are used in the drug experiment.

It was subsequently brought out at a convention of the National Education Association in San Francisco, that various types of drugs to cause tranquility in children are being used throughout the United States. A spokesman for the School Nurses Department of NEA said that a number of "hyperactive" school children in San Francisco, for instance, got drugs through their doctors with the cooperation of the Unified School District.

IT'S A GOOD BUSINESS!

It is said that "figures don't lie," therefore we must believe the figures submitted to the Internal Revenue Service by the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith in their 1967 return.

For instance, the listed net amount of contributions, gifts, grants, etc. (gross minus expenses of collection), is \$3,810,152.95. Salaries are shown as approximately two-thirds of the net, or \$2,613,252.76. Other amounts spent on themselves, Personnel Welfare, Meetings and Conferences and Travel, amounted to \$647,240.66. Add to that \$65,000.00 to their captive organization, the Institute for American Democracy, and \$50,000.00 to B'Nai B'Rith, their parent organization, we arrive at the rather staggering total of \$3,375,493.42, which was spent on themselves and "their own." The sum is as follows:

Net Income	3,810,152.95
Themselves & "Their own"	3,375,493.42
Leaving	434,659.53

Still another figure of \$155,062.67 was spent on such items as "Research Material," "Miscellaneous," "Furniture and Equipment," "Office Services," "Postage," etc. This means that only \$279,596.86 was actually spent for the program for which this tax-exempt organization was supposedly set up.

Thus, slightly more than a quarter of a million dollars out of nearly four million dollars net taken in, was actually spent on "Projects" for their so-called "Educational Program!"

The main "Educational Purpose" for which ADL exists is tracking down and exposing "Anti-Semitism" within the United States.

Incidentally, Benjamin R. Epstein, National Director of ADL, draws a salary of \$40,000.00 annually, plus expenses.

It's a good business!

IADI PUSHES PANIC BUTTON IN FUND APPEAL

Charles R. Baker, former CIO publicist and now listing himself as "Executive Director" of the Anti-Defamation League's Division, known as the Institute for American Democracy Inc., has circulated a fund appeal letter dated June 22, 1970 in which he says:

"Incredibly our America is starting to come apart at the seams. The whole democracy decision-making process is imperiled."

Charlie then goes on to say that this whole trend, which he describes not only in the letter but in an attached brochure, can be stopped if donors will pour money into the outfit which he is running as a paid employee.

Charlie further states that his source material comes from such great authorities as his own files (meaning the ADL ones) and those of Group Research, started by the Reuthers for the purpose of attacking conservatives and patriots.

And just who are those responsible, according to Mr. Baker, for causing America "to come apart at the seams"?

Believe it or not, H. L. Hunt, (the conservative Texas oil billionaire), the former dean of law school of Notre Dame University (Clarence Manion), former F.B.I. man (Dan Smoot), the American Security Council (run by former F.B.I. men) General William Westmoreland (former Commander of U.S. forces in South Vietnam), successful businessman Patrick J. Frawley (head of Schick and Eversharp Corps.), conservative Roman Catholic priest and newspaper editor (the Reverend Daniel Lyons), the head of the Federal Government's Subversive Activities Control Board (Otto Otepka) and Major Edgar C. Bundy (former U.S. Air Force Staff Intelligence Officer and presently Executive Secretary of the Church League of America), to name but a few.

And just *who* are on Mr. Baker's and Franklin Littell's Board of Sponsors? A wild assortment of front-joiners, travellers to Hanoi, commie-inspired petition signers, radical liberal clergymen, New Dealers, ADA-ers, socialists, social activists, university presidents who couldn't control the mobs on their own campuses, the National Council of Churches radicals, moratorium demonstrators, labor radicals and people with religious titles who deny what the Bible teaches and the founding-fathers of their denominations believed.

Charlie calls his appeal "Insurance Against Disaster."

Will someone please pass the dictionary!

IQ TESTS BANNED

According to reports in several West Coast newspapers, the San Francisco Board of Education has banned group intelligence tests and will not permit IQ tests for black children unless their parents request them.

A number of groups, including the Association of Black Psychologists and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had protested against the tests charging that they contained "cultural bias against minority children."

It is interesting to note a parallel situation in the Soviet Union in the early 1930's. Finding that workers' children scored markedly lower than the children of intellectuals in intelligence tests, the Soviets with totalitarian dispatch corrected this inequity by abolishing the tests.

Nathaniel Weyl and Stefan Possony in their book, *THE GEOGRAPHY OF INTELLECT*, (Henry Regnery Company, 1963), discussing the subject of "Intelligence Tests and Intellectual Elites," state that the ban on intelligence tests currently covers the entire Soviet world. (See page 161)

It appears that San Francisco has been added to that world!

COMMUNIST YOUTH PUBLICATION

The Young Workers Liberation League (YWLL), organized earlier this year (See *DIGEST* of March 1, 1970) as a "Marxist-Leninist" youth organization and headed by members of the national Committee of the Communist Party, has labored mightily and brought forth its own publication, *YOUNG WORKER*.

Vol. 1, No. 1, dated July, 1970, is an eight-page, tabloid size newsprint sheet setting forth the Communist Party's "line" on war, racism, labor, "repression," and so on. It is obviously intended as a "proletarian," (but not too proletarian), "revolutionary," (but not too revolutionary) appeal to the New Left.

However, it is exceedingly tame in comparison to the fire-breathing publications of the (Maoist) Progressive Labor Party, the (Trotskyist) Young Socialist Alliance and the Weatherman faction of Students

for a Democratic Society. When they mean revolution they say it in red letters trimmed in flames. It is apparent that the *YOUNG WORKER*, following the Communist Party line with exactitude, is fearful of offending the liberal and church elements which they are trying to lure into their camp.

The *YOUNG WORKER* makes it quite clear that the Communists can't at the same time have their liberal cake and devour it in revolutionary gulps.

RIOT HIDEOUT

One method of responding to the increasing anti-industry riots is to run from them.

Plans to build a \$10 million, 200-acre anti-riot, anti-bomb shelter to house corporate executives and records was announced by Joseph Raymond, an official of the Bekins Company, a van and storage company of Los Angeles. He said construction on the Bull Pine Ranch in Fresno County, California, is scheduled to get underway next year. The complex will include a landing strip, two massive computers, a cafeteria capable of serving 1000 meals in 90 minutes, and a morgue. (This apparently, in case the rioters break in!)

If you can't lick 'em—hide!

RADICAL WRITER TO TEACH

Dwight Macdonald, one-time editor of the intellectual radical publication, *PARTISAN REVIEW*, and who called himself a revolutionist in his book, *MEMOIRS OF A REVOLUTIONIST*, has been appointed as a visiting professor at the University of Wisconsin's Milwaukee Center for Twentieth Century Studies, for the fall semester. He is scheduled to teach three credit courses in the English Department and will serve as an advisor in the Twentieth Century Studies Center, according to the student newspaper of that university.

Macdonald, who has dabbled in left-wing causes for many years, once fell out with the Stalin-Communists over their alleged domination of the League of American Writers (cited Communist front). However, he got cozy with them again when in 1960 he signed an "Urgent Public Appeal—Freedom for Morton Sobell" (convicted atom spy). In 1962 he was one of "550 Prominent Americans" who petitioned President Kennedy to pardon convicted Communist Junius Scales. In 1965 he was a member of an Artists Protest Committee against the U.S. policy in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic. He rallied to the defense of publisher Ralph Ginsberg, who was found guilty of publishing an obscene magazine. He favored draft card burning, and has taken part in numerous anti-war protests.

His most recent work was to write the introduction for *THE TALES OF HOFFMAN* by Yippie leader Abbie Hoffman, who was one of those convicted in the Chicago Conspiracy trial.